Beaglehole and Beaglehole K-5 (1934-Nukumanu Polynesians)

Typical activities which involve complex combination of labor are bonito and flying-fish fishing, seine fishing, house building and thatching, canoe making, talo bed excavating, and today copra making. Bonito and flying fish may be fished by a small group of friends in one or two canoes, or else may involve village cooperation. Some men in each canoe are paddlers, others the netters or rod wielders. Women relatives provide the food for the crew. Seine fishing is carried out by groups of men, usually by a village group. When the net is used on the reef controlled by another village, however, men from this village also participate and share in the fish division. House building involves complex household or village cooperation, depending on the building constructed, whether for use as a private cook or sleep house or for a village meeting house or reserve land guard house (p. 76).

Canoe making is the work of an expert canoe builder and a number of assistants whom he directs. The group for whom the canoe is being built provides the food for the workers and makes the gifts that recompense the workers at the conclusion. Talo beds are excavated by men and women, the men doing the heavy digging, the women carrying away the sand and coral. Copra making is a village undertaking, involving both men and women. During the stay on the reserves, men and women collect and husk the nuts; older people and women split the nuts; men and women put them on the drying platforms; and children and old people later remove the copra from the shells. The men transport the copra to the villages and store it in village-constructed storage houses to await shipment.

Work is initiated by those who experience needs and require assistance to fulfill them. The needs may be biological, such as the need for food or shelter, or else social or ritual, as in the preparation for feasts, the building of village or religious houses, and village competitions. Village work is initiated by the informal village council, by inter-village discussions, or by household heads who anticipate the occurrence of large feasts. Specific works which involve the welfare of the village as a whole, such as copra making, the care of village talo beds, or preparations for village contests, are controlled by the guards (*pule*) acting as executive agents for the village. The work is so organized that all have specific tasks allotted to them. The guard sees that the work is carried out and is up to the required standard of efficiency. In work on the village copra storehouse for example, the guard arranges for some men to fish for the village workers and for the women to prepare talo to feed the workers; the older men so arrange the work that those best skilled for certain tasks are given the direction of these tasks and are adequately helped by less-skilled workers.

The native Pukapukan pattern functioned in typical fashion when the people made the collection of material culture objects presented to Bernice P. Bishop Museum.

1 Beaglehole ~ Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapuka

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Wuuli: the nut is a little larger than ivoa and has a dark green husk.

Uvuka: the immature nut has grown still larger but is still not used as food. Children use nuts at this stage as crude dolls.

Moto katin: the husk is well formed; the cavity is filled with a clear fluid which is bitter and undrinkable; no flesh has yet formed. If the husk is flicked with the fingers it gives off a hollow resonance.

Mukomuko: a thin, slimy, easily detachable flesh begins to form over the inner surface of the nut. The mukomuko flesh forms inside the mesocarp at the point of attachment of stalk to nut. When the green outer husk is stripped off, the edible husk is exposed—a white, meaty substance around the outside of the eyes. Mukomuko from certain trees (niu melo, niu lauva kenakena, and niu uyi) is sweeter and more desirable than others. The fluid from the advanced mukomuko nut may be drunk but is more often added to talo puddings.

Niu katikati: the shell is harder, the flesh thicker though still slimy. The liquid ceases to be bitter and may be drunk.

Niu mata motomoto: the drinking nut in its earlier stage. The liquid is not so sweet as in the next stage. The flesh is soft and thick and is eaten after the liquid is drunk. The husk is dry and unfit for food.

Niu mata: drinking nut at its best stage. The liquid is sweet (lelka) and the flesh tasty (malie). When this nut is shaken, the liquid inside can not be heard.

Niu mata matua: the nut a little past its best drinking stage. The flesh has become hard, especially about the base of the nut; but the liquid is plentiful and sweet.

Niu katea: the flesh is thick and hard; there is less fluid. The husk is darker than the niu mata, and the liquid rattles inside the shell when shaken. It is not particularly desired as food, but the liquid is drunk and the flesh eaten if the nut is husked. A nut at this stage is normally allowed to develop into a yakali nut. The flesh is specially used now as pig food.

Niu uli: the husk turns brown; the liquid becomes slightly bitter and the flesh hard. The embryo develops.

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Niu papaku (modern name, yakali): The flesh (ipiipi) is mature, thick, and hard. Liquid is bitter and unfit to drink. The embryo has developed into an absorbing organ. This is the stage used in copra making. The ipiipi flesh is eaten with fish or other foods in the absence of talo; from it coconut cream (lolo) is made.

Uto: the yakali nut left on the ground to germinate becomes filled with the spongy absorbing organ (uto). The liquid is absorbed and the flesh (ipiipi) is very thin or entirely absorbed. Leaves, stem, and roots develop. The uto is an important everyday food.

Takataka: stored yakali nuts. The embryo is undeveloped; the flesh thick, hard, and sweet; there is no fluid. After 6 months' storage, when the nut is dry but the flesh still fairly soft, the nuts are said to be mamaya. After a year the flesh changes its color from white to yellow-brown and the nut is described as kea ata (coloring). After 3 years the flesh is brown or red and the nut is described as kea tuula (red-brown). The flesh is eaten by itself or as a food complement (kimaki) to pandanus fruit or edible mukomuko. It is also used in the preparation of coconut oil.

257 *Takataka* nuts are stored on the high platform of a storage house (*uale takataka*) in one of two ways:

In the first method the *yakali* nuts may be left unhusked (*nui kaava*) so that rats can not bite through the husk to the flesh within. The drying process hardens and strengthens the husk fibers which are later soaked in salt water and used to make sennit. By the second storage method the *yakali* nuts are husked and a piece of *fuago* coral of appropriate size is driven into each eye of the nut, effectively closing the eyes so that rats cannot gnaw through the shell. Nuts are stored for five years or more